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—After Paso y Troncoso.

93, 94. Ceremonies on election of a new ruler (Chapter 13). 95, 96. Goods displayed in the market place (Chapter 19). 97-100. Gifts of the ruler to successful warriors (Chapters 20 and 21).

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368 people from all the calpulli, but over which no single kin could
621 exercise any control.³⁰⁰ This control had been delegated to the
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³⁰⁰ In regard to the "teopan," the simple term "casa de comunidad," used particularly by Turquesamba (Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 48, and again Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 477): la "Teopan, que es el palacio," explains much. It is, besides, self-evident that the tribal places of business and of worship were under the control of no particular kin, being expressly reserved for the tribe. There is, however, no definite expression as yet, in fact it hardly amounts to a clear conception, of the number and position or location of the original "tlanquia" of Tenochtitlan. There are four eye-witnesses of the conquest reporting upon the markets: Cortés, Andrés de Tapia, the anonymous conqueror, and Bernal-Díaz de Castillo. I quote these in succession. Cortés ("Carta Segunda," Vedia, I, p. 22): "Tiene esta ciudad muchas plazas, donde ha y continos mercados y trato de comprar y vender. Tiene otra plaza tan grande como dos veces la ciudad de Salamanca, toda cercada de portales al rededor, donde hay cotidianamente arriva de sesenta-mil animas comprando y vendiendo. . . ." ("Carta Tercera," (p. 74): "hasta otra puente que está junto á la plaza de los principales aposentamientos de la ciudad." Note 2 of the Archbishop Lorenzana: "Antes de llegar á la plaza de la Universidad hay muchas puentes, y naturalmente habla aquí desta plaza ó mercado, que era muy grande." Id., (p. 78): "E porque este trabajo era incompartible, acordó de pasar el real al cabo de la calzada que va á dar al mercado de Temiltilán, que es una plaza harto mayor que la de Salamanca, y toda cercada de portales á la redonda; "(Id., p. 79): "seguimos nuestro camino, y entramos en la ciudad, á la cual llegados, yo reparti la gente desta manera; habia tres calles desde lo que teníamos ganado, que iban á dar al mercado, al cual los indios llaman Tianguisco, y á todo aquel sitio donde está llaman de Tlatelulco; y la una destas calles era la principal, que iba á dicho mercado, . . . Las otras dos calles van desde la calle de Tacuba á dar al mercado." Id., (p. 81), after the repulse of the Spaniards: "todos los españoles vivos y muertos que tomaron los llevaron al Tlatelulco, que es el mercado." Id., (p. 83): "E aquel día acabamos de ganar toda la calle de Tacuba y de adobar los malos pasos della, en tal manera que los del real de Pedro de Albarado se podían comunicar con nosotros por la ciudad. E por la calle principal, que iba al mercado, se ganaron otras dos puentes y se cegó bien el agua. . . ." Id., "y seguimos la calle grande, que iba á dar al mercado; "(p. 86): "Otro día siguiente, estando aderezando para volver á entrar en la ciudad, á los nueve horas del día vimos de nuestro real salir humo de dos torres muy altas que estaban en el Tlatelulco ó mercado de la ciudad." Andrés de Tapia ("Relacion," etc., in Col. de Doc., II, p. 388): mentions only the "patio de los chicos." "El Conquistador anónimo" (Col. de Doc., I, p. 322): "Sono nella città di Temeltilan Mexico grandissime et bellissime piazze, dove si vendono tutte le cose che usano fra loro, et specialmente la piazza maggiore che così chiamano el Tlatelula, che può esser così grande como sarebbe tre volte la piazza di Salamanca, et sono all'intorno di essa tutti portici; . . ." (p. 324): "Ea outra q'ousta gran piazza re no sono dell'altra et mercanti in che si vendono cose da mangiare in diverse parti della città." Bernal Díaz de Castillo ("Historia verdadera," Vedia, II, cap. XCII, p. 180): "y quando llegamos á la gran plaza, que se dice el Tlatelulco, como no habíamos visto tal cosa, quedamos admirados de la multitud de gentes y mercaderías que en ella habia. . . ." He also states that the "gran plaza" was "cercada de portales." (Cap. CLII, p. 183): "que si nos parecia que fuésemos entrando de golpe en la ciudad hasta entrar y llegar al Tlatelulco, que es la plaza mayor Méjico, que es muy ancha. . . ." (Cap. CLV, p. 188): "que las entrásemos todo cuanto pudísemos hasta llegar al Tlatelulco, que es la plaza mayor, adonde estaban sus altos cuas y odoratorios." We notice at once a contradiction. Cortés first mentions a market of Tenochtitlan, and afterward he calls it of Tlatelulco. Archbishop Lorenzana identifies it with the "plaza de la Universidad," or in the neighborhood of the Cathedral. See *Chronicle-Solano* ("True Dialogues," p. 9): "en la esquina de las calles del Arzobispado y Seminario."

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There were two great market-places in ancient Mexico, one of which was in Tenochtitlan, and the other in the conquered neighboring pueblo of Tlatelulco. This is very

"tlatocan" as a consequence of the formation of the tribe. Crimes³⁶⁸ committed at such localities were punished with unusual severity⁶²¹ because they were offences desecrating neutral ground which was⁶⁹³

plainly stated by Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. XIII, p. 355), and it would even appear³⁶⁴ as if, notwithstanding the importance attached to Tlatelulco by many authors, that the principal market was the one mentioned by this author as "el que está en la Poblacion de San Juan . . ." and consequently the proper "tianguis" of the Mexican tribe. This could only be neutral ground, over which no single kin exercised any authority. It may have been different in regard to the "tianguis" of Tlatelulco; at least the following indications of Durán (Cap. XXXIV, p. 370) deserve full attention: "Fecho este mandó el rey que aquella plaza y mercado que ellos ganaron, pues los tlaltelulcas no tenían mas tierra, que fuese repartido entre los señores y que la parte que á cada uno cupiese, que de todos los tlaltelulcas que allí hiciesen asiento, de todo lo que vendiesen las diesen alcauala, de cinco uno, y así se repartió la plaza entre todos, de donde cada uno cabiera alcauala de lo que en el lugar que le aña cauido se vendia." The above is not quite definite enough, because the "plaza y mercado" of which the friar speaks, is evidently the one mentioned by him (p. 360): "y encerrándolos en la plaza de su mercado, haríendose los tlaltelulcas fuertes, no dexaron entrar á la plaza ninguno de los Mexicanos en ella," whereas he says (p. 370): "que allí hiciesen asiento," as if the place was built over. The fact that the "tianguis" of Tlatelulco was "distributed among the Mexicans" is further asserted by Tecueme ("*Crónicas Mexicanas*," Cap. XLVI, p. 73, Kingsborough, Vol. 9): "Axayaca mandó tambien se hiciesen repartimiento del tianguis de Tlatilulco á los Mexicanos, y comenzaron á medir primera suerte Axayaca, luego á Zihuacotli Tlacoteitlan, luego par su orden Tlacochcalcutli, y á todos los capitanes, que fúé tenido el tianguis en mas de si ganaran cien pueblos." It would therefore appear, if we interpret this "distribution" as it should be done, namely: as a *division of spoils among the kins*, that the latter claimed a share of tribute from the traffic or barter going on in the "tianguis" of Tlatelulco. A fact corroborated besides by that other statement of Durán (p. 360): "El rey le mandó, que pase arian sido traidores á su corona real, que de allí adelante queria y era su voluntad que aquella parcialidad Mexicana del tlaltelulco le fuesen tributarios y pecharon como las demás ciudades y provincias, . . ." This, and the uncertainty as to which tianguis is always meant, favors the assumption that Gomara ("*Conquista*," p. 348, Vedia 1) mentions Tlatelulco when he says: "Los que venden pagan algo del asiento al Rey, ó por alcauala ó porque los guarden de ladrones." Cortés ("*Carta Segunda*," pp. 31, 32 and 34) does not mention it, for the words: "donde están personas por guardas y que reciben certum quid de cada cosa que entra" do not apply to the market which he describes as having visited and which, in spite of Bernál Díaz ("*Hist. Verdadera*," Cap. XCII, p. 89) I still believe to have been that of Tenuchtitlan, and not that of Tlatelulco. Cortés is strictly followed by Ovando (Lib. XXXIII, cap. X, pp. 280 and 281) whereas Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 185) copies Gomara.

I have dwelt thus long on this question because it disposes of the notion that the "government" of Mexico levied a tax on the traffic of the members of the tribe. This tax limits itself to a tribute paid by the subjected tribe of Tlatelulco alone, because, as Durán says (p. 370) "they had no more soul than that of their tianguis." This tax was distributed among the kins, like any other tribute. But it does not follow that therefore the kins exercised judicial power over the Tlatelulcan market. This power either remained with the Tlatelulcan tribe, or devolved upon the officers of the tribe of Tenuchtitlan. The former is more likely, although the latter might also have been the case since the Tlatelulcans were treated with great severity, as traitors and outcasts (Durán, Cap. XXXIV, pp. 369-371), in which case the tribal authorities would have had to punish them.

That the central or tribal "teocalli" and the courts surrounding it were committed to the care of the tribe, as representing all the kins, on equal terms, in the share which each had in it, is self-evident, and needs no further proof.